342 With some tribes the custom differs a little, the
●184 blood of the sacrificed pig is made to run into the hole of the central post of the house.

It is an understood thing that the chief supplies
342 the pig, and the pig that is killed is also a pledge
622 between the chief and his followers. It is hereafter called a *penti* or compensation to be made over to the chief whenever any of his followers leave him.

[p.18]

765 The three days of *bepana* are stringently observed. All the inmates of the house rest from their daily pursuits. The usual mirth and jollity is hushed and sadness alone reigns throughout the house. To the 765 memory of the deceased something is held sacred, 778 either an article of jewellery or a fruit tree of some sort; but it must be the property of the deceased. The length of time this property is considered sacred depends upon whether the relatives have consummated the feast for the dead, called *b-rantu*. Until this feast is passed the property is still held sacred.

765 With the Saribas Dyaks the blood of the fowl that is killed at the halting place at the cemetery is brought home and is placed at the ladder on the ground. All the women that wail for the deceased go down and touch their toes with the blood for a propitiation.

765 Each tribe has it's own peculiarity. Among the Undup, Balau, and Batang Ai a professional wailer 184 has first to be sought for or rather engaged. When a person dies a professional wailer is engaged either 775 immediately or two or three days after the death occurs. This is called the rite of *nyabak nerengka*, which means lamenting the deceased in order that he may travel direct to Hades. It appears that, with the Dyaks, unless the ceremony of *nyabak nerengka* is performed the soul of the dead wanders about in the unseen world and will never reach Hades.

767 The professional wailer is generally a gifted person, skilled in poetry, and is supposed to possess an in- 775 timate knowledge of all that befalls the dead on their journey to Hades through the unseen regions. He avers that the soul has to pass seven places of the utmost importance before it reaches it's destination. Therefore unless the *sabak nerengka* is properly performed the soul will never reach Hades and will

2: Howell M-5 (ca. 1908)1908-1910
OC6 Iban OC6

T18

On the top of the *pandong* a mat is placed and on the mat a *ladong* (carrier's basket) is placed, and in the *ladong* a plate is put containing an offering. The offering consists of eight of every species of articles of food. The *pandong* just round the top is decorated with ripe areca nuts. At the foot of it croton leaves, shoe-flower leaves, etc., form the decoration. These leaves are believed to have the power of expelling evil which may be brought on by the numerous guests that have bewitched eyes and tongues. Round the *pandong* the weapons of the guests are tied on.

[824]

T18
T82

After the *pandong* is erected the man who erects it takes a live fowl and *isang* (a kind of *pandanus*) in his left hand and a drawn sword in his right and marches round it three times, then goes through the house three times with his war cry. The live fowl is finally killed as a propitiation.

[184]

This custom differs a great deal in different districts and rivers. Some simply wave the fowl *(manok biring)* round the *pandong* and do not kill it. A pig is killed as a propitiation for the erection of the *pandong*, and drums and musical instruments are struck whilst the man is busily engaged with his work. It is indeed a sight to witness how religious idea is mingled with heroism. Owing to the liberal distribution of their arrack, before the *pandong* is completed drunkeness comes into play and the whole scene is converted into careless amusement and noisy talk on frivolous subjects which are more or less at the expense of some friends.

[p.100]

4: Roth E-4 (no date) 1891 OC6 Iban OC6

It is difficult to say at what age precisely a person may become a *manang bali*. One thing, however, is certain, he is not brought up to it as a profession, but becomes one from pure choice or by sudden inclination at a mature age. He is usually childless, but it sometimes happens that he has children, in which case he is obliged to give them their portions and to start afresh unencumbered in his new career, so that when he marries, if he be so minded, he can adopt the children of other people, which he frequently, nay, invariably, does, unless it so happen that his husband is a widower with a family of his own, in which case that family now becomes his.

The *manang bali* is always a person of great consequence, and manages, not unfrequently, to become the chief of the village. He derives his popularity not merely from the variety and diversity of his cures, but also largely from his character as a peacemaker, in which he excels. All little differences are brought to him and he invariably manages to satisfy both parties, and to restore good feeling. Then again his wealth is often at the service of his followers, and if they are in difficulty or distress he is ever ready to help. The *manang bali* as an institution is confined, to the best of my knowledge, to the [184] remote tribes of the Sea Dyaks: the Ulu-Ais, Kañaus, Tutong, Ngkaris and Lamanaka. It is not unknown to the Undups, Balaus, Sibuyaus and Saribas, but is not in vogue among them, owing perhaps to their vicinity to the Malays, who invariably ridicule the practice, and endeavour to throw it into disrepute.

2. *Burials.*

The Sea Dyaks dispose of their dead by burial. A person having died, the *manang* or medicine man who was in attendance during the sickness is charged also with the superintendence of the interment, for which he is paid an extra fee. All the able-bodied men in the village turn out to assist the bereaved family, as it is expedient, where possible, to bury the same day. As soon as a coffin is got ready by their united effort the body is laid in it, dressed in its finest apparel, and shrouded from head to foot in a winding sheet of new cloth. With it are placed, for use in the next world, various articles of clothing, personal ornaments, weapons of warfare and instruments of music, according to its sex and natural proclivities. Some of these things belong to it, others are given to it by friends and relatives as tokens of affectionate regard. The women are not permitted to accompany the coffin to the grave, so they raise a dismal wail as it is being carried by the men to the river-bank, to be conveyed from thence by water to the burial ground of the

6: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951) 1958 OC6 Iban OC6

THE FAMILY SYSTEM OF THE IBAN OF BORNEO

Throughout the Baleh region there is marked cultural and social homogeneity; in none of the many other Baleh communities which I reconnoitred was there any significant divergence from the main regularities and principles established by the analysis of the 107 *bilek* families of our sample, and I have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the general findings of this essay are applicable to the Baleh region as a whole. Indeed, from my observations among the Iban of the Rejang, the Katibas, the Saribas and the Ulu Batang Ai and several other rivers of the Second and Third Divisions, there is good reason to suppose that the family system described in this essay is the family system of all the Iban tribes of Sarawak.

THE BILEK FAMILY

The Iban *bilek* family has two dominant characteristics: it is a small group numerically, and a simple one genealogically. Table 1 shows the range in numerical composition of all the *bilek* families of the three long-houses of our sample.

Table 1. *Numerical composition of the 'bilek' family*

Number of persons in *bilek* family	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Frequency													
Rumah Nyala	–	7	3	4	3	2	2	1	3	–	–	–	–
Rumah Sibat	3	2	7	4	9	4	–	–	3	–	–	–	–
Rumah Tungku	2	4	9	9	6	7	7	1	3	–	1	–	1
Totals	5	13	19	17	18	13	9	2	9	–	1	–	1

It will be seen that eighty of the 107 *bilek* families of the sample—that is, approximately 75 %—fall within the range of from three to seven members per family. The mode is four, and the median five persons per *bilek*; while the arithmetical mean is 5·75 persons per *bilek*, with a mean deviation of 1·8. This accords closely with other data available for the Baleh region (7). When it is realized that the *bilek* family is the basic unit in agriculture as in almost all other activities, it will become apparent that its limited size is a factor of crucial importance in all economic pursuits. Similarly, it is a feature of cardinal sociological significance.

Now, while it is true that the *bilek* family is, in general, a small group numerically, an inspection of Table 1 will indicate that families do show a not inconsiderable range in size. This variation results from the fact that our sample includes *bilek* families at several different stages of development, from households consisting of a single married couple at one extreme to those which extend through four consecutive generations at the other.

8: Haile N-5 (1950) 1951 OC6 Iban OC6

524 been placed, they can move in the same way as the endo, and the game is carried on until A has either hemmed in both endo so they cannot move or take (in which case A wins), or lost so many anak that it is obvious he cannot achieve this (in which case E wins).

[184] There is another variety of the game, played in the same way but with only one endo and twenty-five anak, but this is said to be inferior.

524 576 It will be seen from the above description that the game involves considerable skill. In the first game I played I was well beaten, and I managed to win the second only with the help of much whispered advice from the local experts. As far as proprieties are concerned, it is considered inappropriate for spectators to offer verbal advice, but to warn of a dangerous move by a sharp intake of breath is apparently permissible. The tyro is particularly warned to be on his guard against those unscrupulous players who split one of their anak to make an extra piece, or who will move one of their pieces along a crack in the floorboards which is not a true line in order to get out of an embrassing situation.

524 177 The origin of the game is not clear. The Dayaks were emphatic that it was an Iban (Sea Dayak) game, and whilst some Kuching Malays are familiar with the game, they use the Iban terminology (i.e. "endo"), and recognise that it is a Dayak game. Although a cursory examination of ethnological literature produced no reference to the game in this form, the fact that it has spread to Kuching Malays suggests that the game may have been more popular in the past. The word "machan" is Javanese for tiger, and so the game possibly came from there.

* * *

[EDITORIAL NOTE:

177 It is likely this game came to S. E. Asia from India, and the Celebes Bugis, great voyagers helped spread it. In transit it has varied widely. This interesting form is apparently now recorded from Borneo for the first time. For a survey of Celebes Varieties see Walter Kaudern's "Games and Dances in Celebes", Gotenborg. 1929. pp. 311-313.]

11:Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1957 OC6 Iban OC6

Iban Pottery

by

J. D. FREEMAN, PH.D.

(Australian National University)

".....do not grudge
To pick out treasures from an earthen pot....."
George Herbert, 1593-1633.

114 Henry Ling Roth in his classic compilation "The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo" (published in London in 1896, 323 and "based chiefly on the MSS. of the late Hugh Brooke Low")[1] devotes two pages (Vol. 1, pp. 390-391), to pottery. Having previously cited (on p. 381) Brooke Low's observation that "before the arrival of Europeans" the Iban (or Sea Dayaks) had used "earthen *prioks*[2] made by themselves," Ling Roth begins his account with the comment: "There appears to be little or no pottery made by the natives now;" and in evidence of this he quotes a note by the Rev. F. W. Leggatt, an S.P.G. missionary then stationed on the Skrang River, concerning the pottery of the Dayaks of that region. "They tell me here," reported the Rev. Leggatt, "that they do not make pots now for two reasons—firstly, because the proper clay is found only a long distance off, secondly, because Chinese pots are to be bought so cheaply that it is not worth while making pots for themselves."[3]

323 By the 1890's then, pottery was no longer being made by the 184 Sea Dayaks of the Skrang, and (probably) of the other regions of the Second Division, where Government and mission activities had led to changes in technology and economic organization, as in the rest of Dayak culture. Further inland, however, there were other Iban tribes whose members saw much less of Europeans, and most of whose traditional practices were little influenced by the policies of the Brooke regime. In the long-house communities of those remoter regions the art of pottery survived.

• • •

114 During the years 1949 to 1951, while carrying out field 323 research in social anthropology on behalf of the Colonial Social Science Research Council and the Government of Sarawak, I

17:Bedford D-5 (1958) 1959 OC6 Iban OC6
Rumah Bujak

Living as they do near the bazaar, contact with it has necessarily influenced the way of life of these people considerably. All the men have short hair and many of the women have waves. They wear a Malay type of dress or European clothes.

The majority of the people in the house profess Christianity. The majority of children in the house have for many years attended the mission school in Simnaggang. The majority of people in the house are able to read and write. Several members have attained a fairly high standard of education and are employed in Government Service.

• • •

To summarize the background briefly: Rumah Bujak is an average longhouse in the lower Batang Lupar as regards position, standard of construction and state of cleanliness. The people have attained a high level of prosperity on Sea Dayak standards. As a result their standard of living is way ahead of longhouses in many other areas of the Second Division.

DIETARY SURVEY

Method

As a sufficient proportion of the population of the house were able to write, each room was asked to keep a diary of everything they ate and drank at every meal for one week, starting on the 23rd March, 1958. At the end of this period the results were collected and the weight likely to be consumed by an average adult male was assigned to each food commodity. The estimate for rice was the most accurate since it is customary at this longhouse to measure the rice used for each meal in cigarette tins full. A portion of rice cooked for each meal is wasted but as this must be very variable no allowance was made for it; so that as rice forms usually a high proportion of the daily food intake (see below) the results will tend to err on the high side. An attempt was made to estimate the weight of other food commodities consumed without bias, so that errors would be mutually exclusive and not cumulative.

Having estimated the weight of each food commodity, its protein, fat, carbohydrate and calorie content was calculated from

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

2. Value of New Land

175 166 183 [484] [501] Implicit in the population pressures was a second factor, the obverse of the first, the Iban cultural value of new land. The Ibans are themost expansive and aggressive of the indigenous peoples of Sarawak. The institution of pejalai included, among other purposes such as the validation of the Iban male, the reconnitering of new lands and other people. In one account,[11] two brothers, Baji and Tagi', sons of Baring, on a pejalai from the Skrang, made a bark canoe (utap),[12] and travelled down the Kanowit. Coming out onto the broad expanse of the Rajang, they were astounded to find how flat the land was. They travelled as far as Bukit Lan below Sibu, then returned to bring their families to the land just waiting for the taking.

3. The Pioneer

175 166 554 [184] [423] A third factor, related to the migrations and high value of new land in Iban culture, was the traditional class system. More will be said of this ina a later chapter, but contrary to what Freeman has written about the Ibans of the Sut, the Ibans in the Sibu District had a well-developed class consciousness, which still obtains among them, particularly in the arrangement of marriages. During the nineteenth century, the pioneer (ke mubok menoa baru, "who opens up new land")

---

[115] [11] Interview with Tuai Rumah Ampan, 16 November, 1970.

[12] Such craft are still occasionally made for trips from headwaters, and abandoned after a single trip.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

5. "Big Men" among "big men"

A fifth factor contributing to the Iban migrations of the nineteenth century, one which must necessarily be discussed in some detail, was a deep resentment of the Brookes' paternalism and interference with traditional ways of life. The Ibans were oriented to a high degree of mobility and independence, and reacted to the invasions of their lives by an authoritarian government with the time-honored reactions of fight and flight. Iban society has always been (and is) highly factionalized, and the leadership patterns show numerous parallels with the "big man" complex of Melanesia, as will be discussed below.

Adapting as they did to an environment of relatively limited productivity in which they had to move every five or six years, the Ibans placed a premium on the achievements of the individual, especially the male: pejalai, pioneering, headhunting, success in farming, and tattooing (an ordeal in design to see whether a man could withstand physical pain),[17] among others.

We have mentioned the autonomy and independence of the bilik family, which produced and consumed its own food. On this point,

---

[17] Several Iban men explaining why they were untattooed stated quite unashamedly that they couldn't stand the pain. Tattooing is done with five needles tied together, the points dipped in soot and driven under the skin. It is a rapidly disappearing form of art and type of ordeal.

175 555 624 politician.[23] For Iban anembiak have always been quick to discredit a leader who abuses his privileges by neglecting them,[24] and equally quick to transfer their loyalties to another leader who may promise more or give rewards. The implications of this high degree of competition are ominous for the Ibans' ventures into modern politics, for

> "this fragmentation of true authority presents special political difficulties, particularly in organizing large masses of people for the prosecution of such collective ends as warfare or ceremony."

or enlisting support at the polls.[25]

The indicative quality of the raja berani, like the "big man," was personal power. He did not succeed to his office, but achieved his position, through bravery in war, mastery of oratorical style, farming prowess, all of which were demonstration of magical power and good fortune (tuah limpah), the aim of Iban prayers.

175 648 [184] [555] It was into this competitive and factionalized system of unstable political alliances that the Brookes came, as "Big Men" among "big men."

---

[23] Cf. Leigh, 1970.

[64] [66] [24] Although well-known, the Iban Pesaka Party candidates in the Sibu District were defeated to a man in the election of 1970 for neglecting their constituents.

[25] The intramural conflicts and undercutting that has taken place between the Iban leaders of the Party Pesaka have divided the supporters and resulted in their disaffection. (ibid.).

175 It is untrue to say that the Brookes created the factions, for divisions
648
184 are a part of Iban society at every level.[26] What occurred was an alignment of factions, some against, some for the Brooke government as it tended to threaten or enhance their positions. Brooke policies of taxation and fines, restriction of migrations, suppression of raiding and headhunting, evoked bitter resentment and retaliations from
[55] those who aligned themselves against the Brooke government. For those who chose alignment with the new authority, the Brooke Raj represented an opportunity for external validation of their positions, and manipulation of their relations with the White Rajahs for personal advance and power. On this point, Pringle writes,

> "The more remote upriver people, loath to abandon their freedom to fight and migrate as they saw fit, often found it more agreeable to comprehend him (the Rajah) as an enemy, the greatest of all enemies, than they did to obey his commands. Even the more accessible downriver Ibans who followed the Rajah on expeditions, of whom Munan was a prominent example, instinctively tended to regard the Government as an antagonist."

---

[665] [26] These are the causes of removals of bilik families and the break-up of whole longhouses, and the ease with which Iban politicians transfer party membership if they sense an advantage as an Independent or in another party. The situation quite literally is "every man for himself." (cf. Lande, 1965).

175 Opposite").[7] After a stay in Sebayan, highlighted by eating, drinking and revelling with members of the opposite sex to the heart's content, the soul then proceeds on a journey through several river networks, the most important being Mandai Mati ("Death"), Mandai Awai ("Suffering"), and, finally to Mandai Jenoh ("Peace") where the soul is changed into padi-nourishing dew, the fitting end for the Iban life.

178 243 Further, not all rice is equally valuable. Each bilik possesses padi pun or a special strain of rice ritually defined as sacred rice.[8] The planting of the padi pun takes priority over the planting of any [189] other strain, in planting wet rice as well as hill rice.[9] Although some degree of the reverence shown the padi pun as described by Freeman (1955: 154-155) still exists among the Ibans in the Sibu District, yet they are much more casual in their handling and treatment of it than the Sut Ibans.

186 243 262 Distinctions between Iban rice and other varieties are frequently pointed out, in favor of the former. Kami enda' kala' makai bersu China ("We never ate Chinese rice"), boasted Embuas anak Imba, a notoriously successful farmer. On the inferior qualities of non-Iban rice, Indai

---

[7] Afterworld, where all is exactly reversed from this life.

[8] Any of the more than three dozen sub-species of rice can be claimed as padi pun, depending upon each family's lore.

[177] [9] Among the more than 20,000 Ibans who have become Christians this ritual is accompanied with a planting of a wooden cross as well.

243 When the work of transplanting is commenced, a basketful of rice-shoots is ceremonially placed on a "seat" of split sapling or bamboo [462] (mudok ka sintong). Men may help in carrying the anak padi ("rice children", i.e., seedlings) from the beds to the fields, but the onerous back-bending task of transplanting falls to women and girls. The shoots are taken from the sintong in handfulls and deftly imbedded into a hole gouged by the thumb or by a stick. Spacing varies but on an average the shoots are placed about four inches apart.

243 476 The size of the farms to be planted, the limits of the labor force available in any bilik, and the more pleasant aspect of having friends with whom to talk while working make labor exchange the rule for transplanting as well as for other tasks, such as weeding and harvesting. Enti' basi' enggau berandau, nadai asai lama', nadai asai lelak bekereja ("If there's someone else with whom to talk, the work doesn't seem long and there's no feeling of weariness"), one informant said. A survey of the farms at Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, revealed that the smallest was about three-tenths of an acre and the largest just over four acres, with an average of two-and-a-half acres, the size being determined by the demands of the family as well as the labor force available to them.

Labor exchange is arranged by the women involved, and always is based on kinship and friendship. It is based on strict reciprocity, and a close account of days expended on another family's farm and the time [184] owing the laborer's family is kept. Unlike the Ibans of the Sut (Freeman 1955:238), the Ibans who formed the concentrated work of this study

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

provide the food while others work in their fields, and pork, vegetables and other lauk ("food other than rice," upriver, engkayu') are purchased or obtained from the family's resources.

The anak padi of each variety of rice is transplanted in rows, and when one strain is completed, a new row is begun for the next. A survey of the farms of Rumah Nyala, Aup, and Rumah Imba, Salim, showed that each farm contained an average of 15 different strains of rice, divided almost equally between those maturing in six months and others requiring only three months for maturation.[12] The six-month varieties are planted between mid-August and the first of September, and the three-month strains by the end of October. A strip of land three feet wide between the three- and six-month varieties is planted with vegetables, the species depending upon the quality and height of the land. Corn (jagong) is interspaced between the strains of rice, and Job's tears (lingkau) on hillocks or raised mounds. Egg-plant (buah terong), pumpkins (buah entekai), and long-beans (retak panjai) are also planted on mounds of earth. Mustard seeds (leka ensabi) and gourd seeds (leka labu') are broadcast (ditabor) over the farm. In some areas where it is impractical to mound up soil, all seeds are broadcast among the rice plants, the rationale being that the plant growth helps with weed control.

---

[12] The factor of photo-periodism is important, particularly for full development of the grain. For rice that is planted too late in the year will be imperfectly filled out.

his speech will be powerful and effective, biaa), by his paternal and maternal kinsmen upon the child's first entrance into their bilik. The principle of bilateral attachment is crucial in Iban social organization, and to our understanding of the society beyond the bilik-family. We shall discuss the Iban suku-juru in a later section of this chapter.

In Table 20, the membership of children living as members of their father's natal bilik, their mother's natal bilik, on in their parents' bilik neolocally, is presented for Rumah Nyala, Imba and Nyelang.

TABLE 20

Residence of Children by Birth

Longhouse	Father's Natal Bilik	Mother's Natal Bilik	Neolocal
Nyala	12	22	7
Imba	9	17	3
Nyelang	13	10	4
Totals	34	49	14

Unlike the situation described by Freeman (1970:16) for longhouses in Kapit District, where membership of children was about equally divided between the bilik-family of either mother or father, there is a greater number of families in which children are living as members of their mother's natal bilik than those in which they are living as members of their father's natal bilik. These cases, taken together with those in which families are residing neolocally comprise almost two-thirds of the bilik-families. Children lived as members of their father's natal bilik in 34 families,

184 or in 35.1 per cent of the cases; as members of their mother's natal
851 bilik in 49 families, or 50.5 per cent of the cases; and in new bilik in
591 14 families, or 14.4 per cent of the cases.

562 Two principal reasons may be offered for this shift away from
[591] virilocality. First, as discussed already, women play a relatively greater role in wet-rice farming than do men among the Ibans. Women are acknowledged by agriculturalists to be more knowledgeable about horticulutre than men. If labor-exchange is arranged, women do it among themselves, and preferably with kin. Even in hiring labor, women contract the employees, whether men or women. If labor-exchange is not arranged and no hiring is done, women still express a preference for working their fields near their own kin, rather than with strangers or even affines.

591 A second reason that is contributing to this shift away from
469 virilocality is the increasing number of men who are taking up employment away from their longhouses. In such situations, their wives either will live with them, as in the case of Sindong and Sana, in a neolocal situation, or remain in the wives' natal bilik, among family and friends. In a virilocal situation, with an absentee husband, tensions between wife and her in-laws are apt to become so unbearable that she either will move to be with her husband, or return to her natal bilik. The probability of contracting an enduring union with wife residing in husband's natal bilik, and husband away for long periods of time, is unlikely, hence, the second reason for a shift away from virilocality.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

597 In Rumah Nyala, Imba and Nyelang, cases of adoption that occurred were invariably between different bilik-families, and always between close kinsmen. No instance of adoption of a child by a member of the same bilik as the child's parents occurred. In Table 21 the incidence of adoption in each of the houses is shown.

TABLE 21

Incidence of Adoption

597 162

	Rumah Nyala	Rumah Imba	Rumah Nyelang	Total
Males	3	2	7	12
Females	0	3	4	7
Totals	3	5	11	19
Number of bilik in which adoption occurred	2	5	7	14
Percentage of bilik in which adoption occurred	6%	17.8%	25.9%	General Average:15.9%

[184] The number of cases of adoption as well as the general average of adoptions per longhouse are significantly less than the number and average reported by Freeman (1970:17) for the Kapit District. In Rumah Nyala, there are only two bilik-families in which adoption occurred. In Rumah 597 Nyelang, children were adopted in seven of the families. In every instance, the family giving up a child for adoption had a large number of children (by their own assessment), and the family adopting had none. For example, Jinggut (Bilik No. 2) and his wife, Tipong, had 12 children, five of whom eventually were adopted by siblings. Tuai Rumah Nyelang

4. Postmarital Residence

591 592 [612] Upon marriage, one of the partners agree to take up residence in and/or responsibility for the bilik-family of the other partner. This agreement is worked out by the kaban of both partners, in discussion of the relative advantages and disadvantages to either family if its child marries out (nguai or ngugi). In the case of a family with many children, it may be anticipated that some of them will marry out. Thus, for example, in the case of Jenggings's family (Rumah Nyelang, Bilik No. 9), in which there were eight children, the four oldest married out. On the other hand, in a family with only one child (anak tunggal), it may be anticipated that they will insist that the spouse nguai to them. [464] We have noted already the tendency towards neolocal residence when one of the spouses is a wage-earner. Even in these situations, however, agreement as to the bilik to which responsibility is given will be defined by the families concerned.

593 [184] While Freeman's statement that,

> "marrying into another bilik means the virtual abandonment of one's natal or adoptive bilek-family,"

may be true for the Ibans of the Kapit District, it does not hold for the Ibans of the Sibu District. In numerous cases, couples continued to maintain ties through visits to both natal bilik, as well as to contribute towards the support of both sets of parents. [431] For instance, well over half of the Iban couples residing in Sibu claim that they send gifts

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 278]

582 Commenting on the high incidence of marriages outside the long-
829 house, several Ibans expressed a reticence to marry a member of one's own community because of over-familiarity.

[836] "You may court (ngayap)[15] a girl from your home community and sleep with her without having any intention of marrying her."

[184] That all Ibans do not share this opinion is apparent in the marriages that do take place between members of the same longhouse, but these are notably a minority.

584 The cultural prescription among adults of the senior generation,
183 i.e., 40 years old and above, for parent-arranged marriages had virtually no support among young adults who prefer to find their own spouses. Through discussion with members of the senior generation, I ascertained that while they now subscribe to this norm, in fact few of them married (di-ator) according to arrangements made by their parents. In Rumah Nyala, only Linang and Julan (Bilik No. 21) were "arranged by their parents" (di-ator apai indai).

584 More commonly, marriages are arranged according to the choices of young people (sabong mata, a match (by the) eyes). A young man will see a girl to whom he takes a fancy and pay her a call. Entering her mosquite-net, he takes hold of her toe to announce his presence. They

---

[15] For a discussion of traditional courting patterns and changes that are occurring in them as related to changes in residential patterns see Paul Beavitt, "Ngayap," SMJ, Vol. XV, Nos. 30-31, pp. 407-413. December, 1967.

604 respond to any requests no matter how great the inconvenience of sacrifice. In the pasar students board wtih one of their parents' siblings who is expected to house and feed them with or without compensation. School leavers also put up with avuncular relatives while looking for employment and frequently stay on, boarding for the cost of their food. In one situation with which I am familiar, an Iban family with four children of their own have living with them the wife's sister's daughters who are in school, wife's brother's son who is employed by Government, and husband's sister's son who is employed by the Police. The husband also is employing his brother's daughter as his clerk. Nepotism among the Iban is not a vice; rather, it is a means for mutual aid through activation of kin-ties for the fullest exploitation of every economic opportunity.

588 604 We have described already the proscription that forbids marriage between members of adjacent generations, especially between avuncular and nepotic relatives. Such marriages are not uncommon, however. We have noted that in Rumah Nyala, Aup, two such cases occurred in which men married their brother's daughters. In another case with which I was involved, a man wanted to marry a woman who stood in the relation of ibu' to him. After long discussions, the pengulu and tuai rumah of the area agreed that the marriage could take place, provided that they went through the ritual (Berunsor or Besapat ka Ali')[8] and paid the token fine, pelasi' menoa, to all the residents of the area in order to keep the area "cool".

[184]

[8] In contrast to the Iban of the Kapit District who apparently make no distinctions between sisters-in-law on the basis of age differences (cf. Freeman 1960:82), those of the Sibu District do so.

000 undoing of group interests.

128 In this chapter we shall analyze certain aspects of Iban culture, as a system of practices, values and beliefs, which is shared among [369] members of the society. There are some aspects of Iban culture which are [184] shared by majority of the members, but there are dissimilarities as well in some norms, ideals and goals of the Ibans who have moved into the pasar [177] and those who have remained in their rural communities. Iban culture has been affected through the contact of its practitioners with the cultures of other groups and through the mediating influences of the urban center. The analysis in this chapter aims to indicate those areas in which Iban culture is being affected most, and those aspects that are most resistant to other influences.

A. Self-Sufficiency

866 In Chapter Five, we described the importance of independence and 183 the early training and orientation which Iban children receive in enculturation of this value. Independence-training, however, is but a single facet of a larger value which we may term self-sufficiency that includes a number of other ideals.

867 Through the process of enculturation, the Iban introjects the demands of his elders and peers that be be adequate to all of the demands of his roles as farmer, adventurer and community member. By word and example, boys and young men are taught the skills and courage required of them to be fully productive and participating members of society. Similarly, girls

the upper Rejang area, were baptized in Kapit. The first Ibans in the Sibu District to enter the Methodist Church were from Bawang Assan, where more than 250 were baptized on one day. During the past two decades, more than 16,000 Ibans of the Third Division, about 11,000 in the Sibu District and below, have masok Keristin ("become Christians").

The reasons why a majority of Ibans have joined the Methodist Church are illustrative of the importance of these two norms, for most of those who have become Christians are the more mobile[22] and have perceived opportunities for personal or group benefit through identification with the church. In discussing the reasons for the entrance of the large group from Bawang Assan, one of the community leaders said that,

> "following the Japanese War, we were suspected of having collaborated with the Japanese. We knew that the British were Christians, and we wanted to be identified with them. So, after much discussion, we agreed that we could clear our names and show our identity with the British by becoming Christians."

We have discussed how the Christian church is looked upon as a benevolent fraternalism, an extension of the Ibans' model of the kin-group. Thus, the church is looked to as an agency for help in time of need. More than a score of Ibans whom I asked about their reasons for becoming Christians replied to the effect that,

---

[22] Among more conservative and traditional communities, there is little interest in and response to the work of Christian churches.